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ABSTRACT

Vocational education, called industrial education from its beginnings during the Reconstruction years, was hailed by its supporters as a means of making education practical and relevant to the lives of its black students. Its detractors, however, felt that industrial education was intentionally designed to prevent blacks from attaining economic and educational parity with whites. This module, the second in a series of four about the education of black women in the South since the Civil War, traces the development, purpose and design of industrial education. The following topics are discussed: (1) the roots of industrial education; (2) the industrial education curriculum; (3) extracurricular life; (4) the 20th century character of industrial education; and (5) the end of industrial education. Also included are questions for discussion, activities for enrichment, and a bibliography. (PS)

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Black Women's Vocational Education. History of Black Women's Education in the South, 1865-Present. Instructional Modules for Educators,

MODULE II

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Preface

This module is second of four designed to help educators learn more about the double bias that has faced Southern black women in American schools since the Civil War. It is hoped that learning about this heritage will sensitize them to black girls' and women's current educational needs and will help them appreciate black women's present successes, efforts to achieve, and achievements.

The modules describe the historical development of elementary, vocational, high school, and college education for black girls and women. Each contains notes, a bibliography, questions for discussion, and suggested activities. The modules may be used separately or as a set.

These materials were created by Elizabeth L. Ihle at James Madison University in Harrisonburg, Virginia, with the assistance of a grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act program. James Madison provided an initial faculty research grant to get the study underway, and the Rockefeller Archive Center provided a grant which facilitated the use of its materials. Dr. Ihle wishes to acknowledge the following libraries' and archives' cooperation in her research: Bennett College, Fisk University, Huston-Tillotson College, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, Spelman College, the Rockefeller Archive Center, the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College, Tennessee State University, and Virginia State University.

A number of individuals contributed expertise to the project, and a debt of gratitude is owed to them all. Drs. Faustine C. Jones-Wilson of Howard University and Beverly Guy-Sheftall of Spelman College reviewed the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions, though Dr. Ihle takes full responsibility for any inadequacies still remaining. Their insightful comments, patience, and enthusiasm are deeply appreciated.

The module was also field-tested by undergraduates at James Madison University. Their assistance and that of their instructors, Dr. Violet A. Allain and Mr. George Joyce, offered the author valuable student and faculty perspectives on the module. The grant support staff of the Women's Educational Equity Act offered important counsel whenever called upon. Finally, the author's husband John Blair Reeves was a source of encouragement and the epitome of support. To all of these people, the author expresses appreciation.

MODULE II
Black Women's Vocational Education
History of Black Women's Education in the South, 1865-Present
Instructional Modules for Educators

Project Director
Elizabeth L. Ihle

James Madison University
Harrisonburg, Virginia

Women's Educational Equity Act Program
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
William Bennett, Secretary

Laundering: Kowaliga School [Alabama], 1909 (General Education Board records. 1007. Ala. 29. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted with permission.)

Introduction

What educators today call *vocational education,* training that upon completion enables a student to find work in a specialized field, has a long and controversial past in black educational history. Called *industrial education* from its beginnings during the Reconstruction years, it was hailed by its supporters as a means of making education practical and relevant to the lives of its black students. Its detractors, however, felt that industrial education was a "great detour" designed perhaps intentionally to prevent blacks from attaining economic and educational parity with whites. Although some whites too received industrial education, it was different. Vocational education for whites grew out of the mismatch between some adolescents and the traditional academic high school. Many blacks never experienced the option of choosing between academic or vocational secondary work, for blacks' industrial education emerged from the compromises involved in improving Southern education overall.

The history of black women's vocational education parallels that of their male counterparts in many ways. Most black industrial education institutions were coeducational, although the curriculum and extracurricular activities were differentiated by sex. To a large degree, the sex differentiation experienced by black women was similar to that faced by white women. The major difference between the two was the attitudes they faced about work. Black women did not experience the opposition to women's working outside their homes that white women did. Economic necessity forced the majority of black women to find employment, and few people saw any illogic in assuming for many decades that it was acceptable for black women but not white ones to work outside the home.

The Roots of Industrial Education

Queenland Industrial School. Ben Hill County, Georgia, 1914. Notice the separation of the boys and girls in the picture. (General Education Board records. 1007. 648. County Training Schools, 1915-16. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted with permission.)

The prototypes for industrial education for blacks were the famous Hampton Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee in Alabama. The former, begun in 1868 by General S.C. Armstrong, who had commanded black troops during the Civil War, was founded to train blacks in agricultural, mechanical, and domestic trades and to instill in them a respect for the dignity and necessity of labor. This, the General contended, was both character building and economically beneficial to the South. These views were echoed by Armstrong's protege, Booker T. Washington, who founded Tuskegee. Educated at Hampton between 1872 and 1875 and later serving as Armstrong's secretary, Washington was selected in 1881 by his mentor to start a black teacher training school at the request of white citizens of Tuskegee, Alabama. He instructed his new pupils in how to teach not only grammar and arithmetic but also domestic science and agriculture. Like Armstrong, he thought that education had to have practical aspects relevant to the improvement of blacks' daily lives. Within only a few years Washington became the leading spokesman for industrial education for blacks and a major influence upon Northern philanthropists, whose money helped shape the course of Southern education during much of the first half of the twentieth century.

Washington's popularity among whites stemmed from an educational philosophy that did not threaten the segregated social order and that promised economic benefit to them. He believed that the two races should be segregated for the most part but should take advantage of each other's strengths. In 1895 at the famous Atlanta Exposition he noted that the races should be as separate as fingers on a hand but simultaneously work together for the common good. He told blacks not to try to start at the top but to "cast down your bucket where your are" in agriculture, mechanical trades, domestic service, commerce, and in the profesisons. He suggested the latter because if the South were going to be truly segregated it would need black doctors, teachers, lawyers, and other professionals. Washington did not advocate industrial training for every black, since professionals needed a broader, more academic education, but he thought industrial training was suited for the majority of his race. However, the white shapers of black education frequently confused *majority* with *all* and pressed for industrial education for all blacks regardless of their talents and aspirations.

At Hampton and Tuskegee girls and women received a different industrial education than did their male counterparts. This situation was typical for women regardless of their race. Girls' education beyond the academic basics centered upon their perceived future roles as wives and mothers. Because of this perception, girls in the late nineteenth or early-to-mid-twentieth century nearly always received some home economics education if they continued school beyond the early elementary years. Not only was this education supposed to improve the health and well-being of the family members, but its fruit—the quality of housekeeping—was also used as a gauge of the family's moral state. The expression "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" quite accurately reflected the thinking of the times, and women were responsible for the family's state in both areas. One writer who surveyed black womanhood for the Slater Fund, which gave large amounts of money to support black industrial education, described women's responsibilities in 1896 this way: "It is impossible to look for a moral community, where the women have never been taught by example and precept that Christian virtue which raises the human being above the animal."[1]

Being held responsible for the moral state of one's family would be oppressive enough for anyone, but black girls and women suffered under an additional burden. The practice of white men to take sexual advantage of black girls and women had not died with the end of slavery, and the Southern legal system offered black women little or no redress. Despite these circumstances, whites, and perhaps white women especially, perceived black women as sexually promiscuous and standards of morality in black homes as unacceptably low. The leaders of black industrial education tacitly accepted this assumption and agreed to loading women's curriculum with large amounts of training in housekeeping and morality.

Another reason for stressing morality and housekeeping in black girls' and women's education was that the South perceived that one of the best trades for black women to pursue was domestic service in a white family's home. The mayor of Daytona, Florida, in 1906, for instance, suggested that the Daytona Educational and Industrial School (for black girls) "should be endorsed by every southern man and woman as a feasible means of effecting reform in social evils existing today and of producing an efficient and courteous class of servants much needed in the South if not in every state in the Union."[2] Similarly, officials at the black Arkansas-Haygood Industrial College in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, appealed to the General Education Board for money on the grounds that "the need of better training for domestic duties among the people of the Colored Race in the South particularly is an urgent one. Whether the young women are to find occupation in their own homes as homebuilders or whether they are to be employed as domestics in the homes of others, we regard the study and practice of home economics as vital."[3] Domestic service was indeed a large and probably desirable field for black women of that time to enter. The federal government's report, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census* (1900) showed that in South Carolina, for example, 41,037 black women were in domestic service as compared to 85,002 who were agricultural laborers and the 960 who were teachers.[4] In Virginias the *Census* listed 61,393 black women in domestic service as compared to 12,178 in agriculture and 1180 in teaching.[5] While teaching domestic science may have deprived them of more thorough academic training, it did help them find jobs in a segregated society unwilling to accord them positions relative to their abilities and talents.

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The Industrial Education Curriculum

Typical of what was called industrial education was training designed to promote subsequent employment, and it appeared at the upper elementary or secondary levels. It was offered first in institutions founded largely by mission societies or blacks themselves and later at public state and county institutions established for blacks. Although a few of the strongest black institutions were able to circumvent the industrial curriculum or were later able to change their curriculum to more academic tracks (see modules 3 and 4), most black "higher educational" institutions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century offered their students narrow training designed to mold efficient workers rather than academic work intended to promote critical thinking skills and preparation for full citizenship.

Industrial education varied widely according to the financial status of the institutuion, its size, its location, and the time, but the curricula always made some sexual distinctions. In the early years of the elementary grades girls were likely to learn basic sewing, cooking, and gardening, while boys learned woodworking and agricultural skills. At upper levels of schooling the content of industrial education differed somewhat, depending upon its location in a rural industrial institute, a large public or private institution, or a county training school.

In the late 1800s blacks themselves or mission societies founded hundreds of small, rural "industrial institutes" which were the first means of a means of providing education beyond the early elementary grades. In their early years they frequently offered some academics (perhaps as high as fourth or fifth grade level) and cooking and sewing for girls and agriculture for boys. If the schools thrived, they added additional training, especially for boys. Many of these smaller institutions eventually either merged into county training schools (discussed below) or disappeared as their localities began to provide additional education for their black citizens.

Other industrial education institutions developed more memorable histories. These were likely to be located in large black population centers and were able to attract larger, older, and more stable student bodies. Over the years these institutions received either public or philanthropic funds and were able to diversify their curricula. Some of them eventually evolved into colleges or universities (discussed in Modules 3 and 4), though many retained trades programs until recent years.

As far as black women and girls were concerned, the strength of these stronger institutions was the variety of women's programs, but their weaknesses were that their variety was still less than what was offered to men and that the programs still segregated students according to sex. In 1906, for instance, one of the most sophisticated of all the industrial schools, Tuskegee, offered girls courses in plain sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, laundering, soapmaking, domestic training, mattress making, broom making, and basketry. In 1916 Hampton offered its women students three ..ome economics programs. One was to "train young women to make good homes and to enable them to teach others to make good homes"; the second trained special teachers of cooking and sewing who could also supervise industrial work in rural schools; and the final one specialized in large-scale domestic service in kitchens, laundries, dormitories, and hospitals.[6] Hampton also offered training in the "women's part" of agriculture—dairying, poultry, and the care of house and school gardens. By contrast, Hampton offered men carpentry, bricklaying, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, machinery, painting, tailoring, printing, engineering, leatherwork, and tinsmithing.

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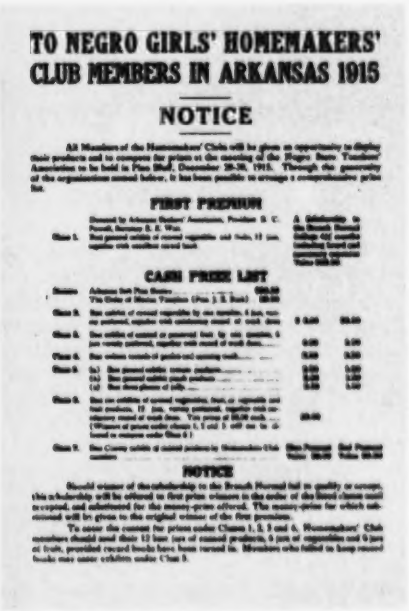
Sewing Class. Pickens County, Alabama. c. 1915. (General Education Board records. 1007. 648 County Training Schools, 1915-16. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted with permission.)



TO NEGRO GIRLS' HOMEMAKERS' CLUB MEMBERS IN ARKANSAS 1915

NOTICE

FIRST PREMIUM

CASH PRIZE LIST

NOTICE

Contest notice. (Reprinted by permission. General Education Board records. Series 1.1. Box 25. Folder 221. Rockefeller Archive Center.)

Industrial Education Curriculum

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In the late 1800s and early 1900s most of the Southern states founded the second form of public industrial education: institutions for blacks along the lines of Hampton and Tuskegee. Although some of these institutions offered teacher training and baccalaureate degrees as well, most of them were primarily trade schools on the secondary level with sex-stereotyped curricula. Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College in Mississippi, for example, offered boys in 1915 courses in carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, and painting, while girls studied cooking, sewing, and nursing. The State Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College at Orangeburg, South Carolina, offered boys that same year training in carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring, plumbing, blacksmithing and wheelwrighting, painting, and harness making, while girls predictably received instruction in cooking and sewing.

One of the most blatant cases of sexism in the state industrial schools occurred in the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. Although it was coeducational from its founding in 1891, it did not have an official domestic science department until 1897. However, four years later, the Board of Trustees decided to abandon the "girl department" and concentrate on agriculture and mechanics, noting that

> *...there were several reasons for this change. In the first place, the girls are by nature not well fitted for agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and their presence in the college hampered the work, and there was an evident disinclination on the part of both sexes to engage in the harder kinds of manual labor in the presence of the other, both feeling called upon to wear their best clothes in order to impress the other. It was human nature, and nothing could prevent it. The dormitories were absolutely inadequate, the girls being crowded seven or eight in a room, and consequently there was much sickness. There was no separate building where the girls could be properly isolated, and the arrangements for them were bad.*[7]

Women were not readmitted until 1926 when the institution began to phase out its high school program and needed additional college students to compensate for the loss. In 1930 a Department of Home Economics was established.

The third form of industrial education came in the county training schools, which were first established in 1911-12 in Louisiana, Arkansas, Virginia, and Mississippi. These institutions, which in their early years were really upper elementary schools, enrolled over 90% of their students in seventh grade or under. Approximately three-fifths of school time was spent on academics and the remaining on industrial education which was predictably sex-stereotyped. Boys typically studied agriculture and did shop work, while girls concentrated on home arts and sciences and "farm-wifery."[8] In the early 1930s the Montgomery County Training School in Waugh, Alabama, was teaching girls how to make colored cotton dresses while boys learned to slaughter a hog. Boys learned to cut and dress the hog, while girls learned how to make sausages. The message was that performance expectations differed according to sex, and the reality resulting from these expectations was unequal wages in the labor market. Another "trade" frequently taught in the county training schools was teaching. At the time few considered it amiss to assume that six or seven years of elementary schooling was sufficient academic background for teaching in a black rural elementary school. Consequently, for prospective teachers, the county training school generally provided four semester courses in general aims and principles of elementary teaching, rural and elementary school management, a review and special objectives in common school subjects, and practice teaching and special methods.

A Girl at Tuskegee: 1911-15

HSK: We wore uniforms every day. The blouse was blue material, the skirt was blue.
ALT: *Every day?*
HSK: Yes. But on Sunday, the blouse was white. In the afternoons and on Sunday afternoons as soon as you came in from chapel, you see you could change your uniform and wear your own clothes...
ALT: *Did you find it difficult to adjust, coming from a household where there was strictness and discipline to a campus where you were absolutely free to do what you wanted to do?*
HSK: Do you think we were free on this campus then to do what we wanted to do? Then you're wrong. I could take the strictness on the campus because I came from a home that was strict, but many girls could not.
ALT: *What was it like? What was the nature of it?*
HSK: We could not go off the campus without an admit. It was very difficult to get an admit to leave the campus. Everything we wanted was right on the campus. You couldn't go to town without a chaperone...There were many older girls who were chaperones, but they were very, very strict. We couldn't go to chapel up on the street. The girls had to go down through the bottom to chapel and no boys spent any time over on the girls' lawn at all. When there were calling hours, they could come to the buildings to call. But...
ALT: *And that was a formal arrangement where they would be announced at the door? Coming to call, describe what would happen.*
HSK: Well, there were girls on duty, who sat right near the door and they'd call for the girls and somebody would get the girls and they would go to the living room and they would sit and call.
ALT: *They wouldn't go out and stroll about the campus?*
HSK: No.
ALT: *They had to sit right there in the dormitory?*
HSK: That's right.
ALT: *Were there chaperones there?*
HSK: Oh yes. The lady in charge of every building and then there were girls called duty girls. Girls on duty on every floor. You see...they were very strict...your room was inspected, your trunks were inspected, your closets, your clothes, everything was inspected and you were given demerits if everything wasn't just right. And when you went to chapel, you marched out of chapel and the physical education teachers stood there as you marched out, if there was a button off your blouse, or if it was soiled - the white blouses on Sunday - you were pulled out of line and that was on Sunday.

Excerpt of Interview of Hattie Simmons Kelley by A. Lillian Thompson, September 5, 1976. Black Women's Oral History Project, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Printed by permission.

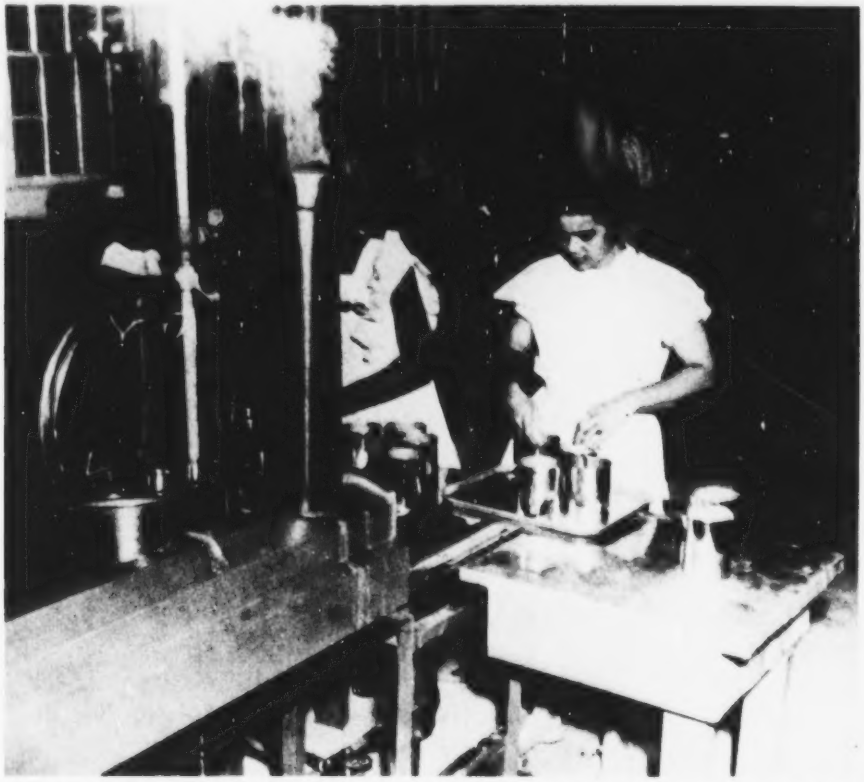
Extra Curricular Life

Because the institutions offering industrial education differed, generalizations about the extracurricular life surrounding the curriculum are difficult to draw. However, as in every educational situation, students learned from the activities surrounding their classroom experiences as well as from the classes themselves. Regardless of the situation, the most important thing students were expected to learn was what their teachers and their supervisors considered an appropriate role in life, and the extracurricular activities were invaluable in teaching those roles. The roles were invariably shaped by race and sex.

Many of the extracurricular activities involved fairs and demonstrations of learning. Since the industrial curriculum had taught each sex different skills, it was no wonder that each sex demonstrated different accomplishments. While men may have shown examples of their leather work, blacksmithing, tailoring, or brickmaking, competed in contests of skill, or entered produce for judging, women offered examples of sewing, baking, garden produce, and canning. The Okolona Industrial School in Mississippi awarded annual prizes for excellence in literary attainment, best kept rooms and tidiness, excellence in farm work, most diligent in engineering, and most trustworthy in laundry.[9]

Although in nearly every school setting there were day students who walked to their classes and lived at home with their families, a number of students lived in dormitories. These were considered major tools of shaping proper social attitudes and behaviors. One observer of county training schools (which were actually the least likely to offer boarding facilities) noted the value of dormitories in directing the students' leisure time as a means of creating "the right moral and religious atmosphere to help to build up the characters of the boys and girls."[10] The dormitory was frequently viewed as a model home, training its residents in what its supervisors viewed as proper home life with the roles for girls and boys being quite distinct.

Combining extracurricular work and classroom activities was very common in industrial schools, and the work usually took the form of caring for the school facilities. Girls at Hampton, for example, were in charge of washing, ironing, and housework. Working in the teachers' residence hall cleaning rooms and cooking and serving meals was considered a privilege awarded to the most diligent. In addition to regular daily chores, girls at the Okolona Industrial School could earn extra funds by doing the laundry of teachers and young men. Many schools had daily room inspections and more rigorous ones on Sundays.



Tuskegee Institute [Alabama] Operations Cannery. 1949. High school students canning fruits and vegetables. (General Education Board records. 1007. Ala. 12. Tuskegee Institute. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted by permission.)

Women at Hampton: 1920

The visitor who arrives at Old Point Comfort on an early morning boat and reaches Hampton Institute during the breakfast hour enters at once into the very heart of the school life. Boys are busy in the field and on the lawn, while the girls are engaged in their morning tasks about the dormitories. Glimpses of girls in the hallways and bedrooms, in the laundry and dining-rooms, show that the activities of the day have begun. In the dining-rooms, in white caps and aprons, they are serving the wholesome breakfast prepared by busy student hands in the kitchens. In gingham aprons some are doing heavy cleaning about the halls; in simple wash dresses others are starting off to the morning recitations. Each and all of them are pursuing a carefully mapped out course—a course designed to make more efficient, stronger women. Study and work go hand in hand; study that will help them to an appreciation of the demands that life will make of them; work that will fit them to meet these demands in the home and in the school, and give them the strength of character and singleness of purpose which can only be acquired through well-directed industry.[11]

Carrie Alberta Lyford, "A Hampton Girl's Training," *The Southern Workman,* 49 (May, 1920), p. 209.

Dress and activities were also carefully regulated. Nearly every school told students to bring simple, washable clothing and to leave fancy apparel at home. Many required uniforms as late as the 1920s. Some of the larger industrial schools dressed male students as cadets and held marches and drills. Students' lives were often regulated by a bell from an early rising hour until bedtime.

The purpose of all this extracurricular regulation was to instill in the students a lifestyle that was deemed appropriate for blacks in the South. To work hard and cheerfully, to live simply, and not to question the social order were all goals of an education that allowed students little discretionary time, little freedom to wear what clothing they wished, and job preparation only in "appropriate" fields. While this structured life hurt both sexes, it was more restrictive for black women and thus more injurious to them.

The Twentieth Century Character of Industrial Education

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. 1946. Tallahassee, Florida. 1946. (General Education Board records. 1007. 849. Annual Report, Florida A & M College. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted with permission.)

The twentieth century brought expanded opportunities for black women's education. Black families still thought that providing their daughters with suitable education was the best way of ensuring that they would not have to support themselves by domestic work and thus be vulnerable to the attention of white men. By the mid-1930s many of the trades traditionally taught in industrial education were becoming obsolete. Many county training schools turned into public high schools, while a number of the larger public and private industrial training schools became colleges. Some simply closed their doors. The ones that survived, albeit in an altered form, changed their curricula, sometimes offering more academic work on a secondary level and sometimes offering new vocational training. For women, the most popular of the new vocational areas were nursing, cosmetology, and printing.

Although nine of the ten top black nursing schools were founded in the 1890s, nursing for black women was primarily a twentieth century development. The practice of segregating hospitals required segregated staffs as much as possible, and so nursing, as traditional women's work, became a new vocational option for black women. Until the 1940s the schools provided nurse *training* associated with a hospital and under the direction of hospital administrators rather than nurse *education* associated with a college. Student nurses were frequently required to labor free of charge in hospitals for long hours with inadequate supervision. Virginia had a nurse training program at St. Phillips Hospital, the black hospital associated with the state's Medical College of Virginia. Despite the fact that St. Phillips was always affiliated with the medical school, nurse graduates were not allowed to have "Medical College of Virginia" on their diplomas until the mid-1940s.[11] Spelman, an Atlanta school for black women that eventually turned into the nation's premier black women's college (see modules 3 and 4), opened its own black infirmary to support its nursing program. Other schools did likewise or concentrated their nurse's training on home care. As black health services improved throughout the South and more hospitals opened, better nursing education became a reality.

Although nursing did not require a college degree until recent decades, it was viewed as one of the few professions a woman could appropriately enter and a particularly desirable one at that. Attending to the sick was related to the emphasis on housekeeping and family care that had dominated black women's industrial education since its inception, and so its assimilation into the industrial curriculum was no surprise. Nursing also fit well into the purpose of black women's education—to improve morals and prepare for appropriate work. It was associated with some stereotypes that industrial education had fostered. A young black woman in a nursing arts course in a black hospital in central North Carolina, wrote in her notes, for instance, that "The nurses [*sic*] morals are as spotless as the uniform she wears." Coupled to that, however, was an indication that her ethical responsibility extended well beyond the hospital. "The young woman choosing nursing as her future work should realize that she will become one of the outstanding groups witch [*sic*] masses will look to for social guidance."[12] Thus nursing for black women became not only a respected career but also a tool for influencing others.

Two other new trades added to women's industrial options in the early twentieth century were cosmetology and printing. Because of the cultural expectation for women to be beautiful, cosmetology was considered a natural field for women. As technology developed electrical appliances and more effective chemicals for the hair and as women began cutting their hair, the need for trained beauticians grew, and a new field of employment opened for black women. Printing, on the other hand, had begun as men's work and had gradually switched into the women's province. Since industrial education institutions tried to be as self-sufficient as possible, a print shop on many campuses developed from the need to print catalogs, flyers, and other school materials. All women's schools naturally employed women, and coeducational ones frequently used women in the print shop to free men for heavier agricultural work.

The End of Industrial Education

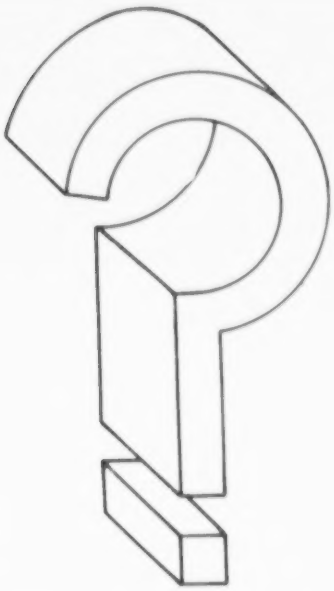
Hampton Institute [Virginia] Laundry, c. 1940 (General Education Board records. 1007. Va. 38. Rockefeller Archive Center. Reprinted with permission.)

The End of Industrial Education

By the 1950s and '60s industrial education for blacks looked very similar to the vocational education that was being offered to whites. The reasons for this evolution were based in economic and legal reality. As the Southern economy began to diversify and prosper, the region's leaders saw a need for a better trained work force as a means of remaining competitive in the marketplace and attracting new industry. Providing blacks with more and better education was one means of doing this. The expansion of black educational opportunities also helped answer local blacks' requests for educational improvement which rose to a crescendo after World War II during which many Southern blacks had tasted life outside a segregated society for the first time. A series of court cases that eventually required the states to make their schools truly separate and equal or to integrate them also spurred states and localities to face the issue of educational equality in vocational education.

Although the "great detour" in blacks' vocational education may have ended by the 1950s or '60s, black women's experiences in vocational education were not equal to black men's because sex was (and is) a factor in vocational choice. Even in schools that had made concerted efforts to desegregate vocational programs by race, substantial sex segregation remained. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was passed to alleviate remaining sexism in education. It stated that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." One of the resulting guidelines forbade the denial of admission to a vocational education program on account of sex. Nevertheless, as late as 1979, women were still enrolled mainly in traditionally women's fields—home economics, cosmetology, and clerical work. Michigan had the most women (20.09%) in traditionally male vocational courses, while Delaware had the least (1.77%).[11] The data were not broken down by race, which makes it impossible to examine the impact of Title IX on black women in particular. Nonetheless, as educators concerned with sex and race equity are discovering, having a law is insufficient to change attitudes and practices quickly. Students need non-traditional role models to emulate, families to support their vocational choices, teachers and guidance counselors to explain the array of vocational choices available, and a society more tolerant of individual preferences. As these opportunities become readily available to girls, then perhaps their choice of vocation will be less stereotyped.

Black women's vocational education has come a long way since 1865, but equity with black men or white women has not yet been achieved. It is difficult to gauge the extent of inequity remaining because few research studies today single out black women from other groups; most studies compare blacks with whites or men with women. Still one fact is clear: despite their long history of working outside their homes, black women still make less than black males, white women, or white men. With more women of all races joining the work force each year, black women's long record of participation in the work force is a model for other women to follow, but the struggle for black women's equity in training for the workplace is far from over.



Questions for Discussion

1. What were the reasons for establishing industrial education for blacks? Do you suppose the same reasons would have been given for whites? Why or why not?
2. How did black women's industrial education differ from black men's? What accounts for those differences?
3. What trades were considered appropriate for each sex? How was the suitability determined?
4. Trade schools are still relatively sex-segregated today. If you were a counselor in such a school, how would you address that problem?
5. Drawing on what you have learned in this module, develop a generalization about the effect of race, sex, economic status, and geographical location upon the chances a person has to receive a quality education.

Activities for Enrichment

1. Read a history of a black college. Most libraries will have available histories of Fisk, Howard, Atlanta, and nearby traditionally black institutions. Notice the differences between the ways male and female students were treated. Notice also the stated purposes of the institution, the level of schooling offered, and the time at which the institution developed a four-year college curriculum.
2. Research the career of a well-known black woman educator. Consider Mary McLeod Bethune, Myrtilla Minor, Lucy Craft Laney, and Fannie Jackson Coppin, all of whom founded or supported institutions which had industrial curricula.
3. Examine some journals about blacks or education from the 1920s or 30s. Notice the infrequency of references to black women and their education. If you are fortunate enough to find an article about black women's education, determine the writer's attitude toward black women's proper place in American society.
4. Develop a list of strategies that you as a teacher could do to help your students develop wider career options.
5. What black women today would you use in your classroom as role models? Begin a collection of material about them. An excellent source for materials is the catalog of the National Women's History Project/P.O. Box 3716/Santa Rosa, CA 95402.
6. Read a history of education in your locality. If none exists, interview some educators or retired ones to learn more about the history of women's education and blacks' education in your community.

Notes

[1]Mrs. E. C. Hobson and Mrs. C. E. Hopkins, "A Report Concerning the Colored Women of the South," No. 9 of the Occasional Papers Published by the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, Baltimore: 1896, p. 13.

[2]C. L. Smith to the General Education Board, January 23, 1906, General Education Board records, Series 1.1, Box 33, Folder 303, Rockefeller Archive Center.

[3]R. H. Carter *et al* to General Education Board, May 7, 1917, General Education Board records. Series 1.1 Box 26, Folder 234. Rockefeller Archive Center.

[4]*Occupations at the Twelfth Census* (1900), p. 384.

[5]*Census*, p. 406.

[6]Paul H. Hanus, *A Study of Hampton Institute*, Vol. 1, Chap. 3, p. 1. General Education Board records. Series 1.2. Rockefeller Archive Center.

[7]Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, North Carolina and Technical College, as quoted by Carrye Hill Kelley, *Profiles of Five Administrators*, Greensboro, NC: Agricultural and Technical College Bulletin (August, 1964), p. 21.

[8]Leo Mortimer Favrot, "A Study of County Training Schools for Negroes in the South," No. 23 of the Occasional Papers Published by the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, Charlottesville, VA: 1923, p. 37.

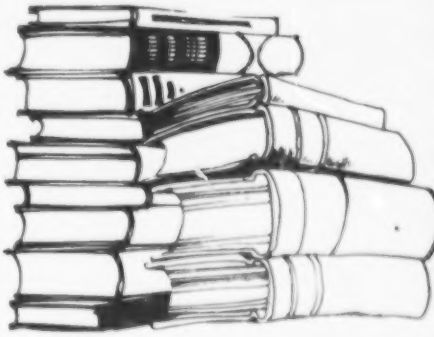
[9]Memo from Jackson Davis on Okolona Industrial School, March 29, 1917. General Education Board records. Series 1.1. Box 94, Folder 845. Rockefeller Archive Center.

[10]Favrot, p. 40.

[11]Notes from Faustine C. Jones-Wilson in author's files.

[12]Restricted papers #3860, 1947, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[13]Robin Gordon, "States Ranked in PEER's Back to School Line-Up," *National NOW Times*, November, 1979.



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The most valuable information available about black women's experiences in vocational education is located in institutional archives and histories. The sources listed below discuss the subject tangentially.

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